

Collective veto on nuclear force  
► weighted voting system



Switzerland

Europe speaking with one voice is an illusion  
will never happen.

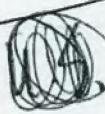
Attitude of France has profoundly changed NATO  
we must think of new solutions.



Reformed NATO on the basis of those  
nations willing to integrate military  
force U.S., U.K., Germany, Belgium,  
Spain.

Denmark

Would like to participate in  
integrated forces. NATO essential



U.K.

Military integration necessary  
but founded on political consensus  
— otherwise in crisis, nations will  
simply opt out.  
— I don't believe in forming  
"in-groups" within NATO

U.K. note.

Organization in all aspects must  
the embrace all nations (leaving seat  
warm for the French).

► Europe has not got relatively  
stronger. U.S. has. Therefore,  
central strength in NATO is U.S.  
Some of the key organizations of NATO  
must operate in U.S. rather  
than Europe because that's  
where decisions will be  
made — and problems of  
the next 10 years are  
political, rather than military

### ~~Norway~~

We must accept fact of  
American preponderance  
in next 10 years.

How can ~~we~~ we  
reform our organization  
so as to make that  
power hear our views better.

Nuclear aspect - recognizing  
U.S. preponderance. must  
work out method by which  
other nations may have "a real say"  
on strategy.

### ~~France~~

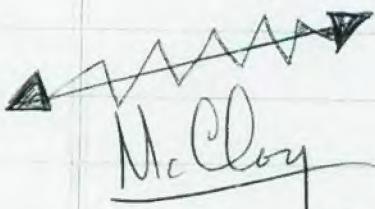
→ Situation has changed in  
last 15 years. vis à vis U.S.  
It is a mistake to insist on  
predominant U.S. strength.

→ Differences of opinions have  
caused U.S. policy to be more  
adaptable.

→ Soviet military aggression is not  
the same as it was - we must  
recognize this! NATO ~~not~~ should

France cont

Fate politico gushes in  
mid! All problems are not  
military.



McCloy

perhaps we should be thankful  
to De Gaulle for putting the problem and  
challenge on the table and in the  
open. We've known we had to,  
but we've avoided it.

→ Policy involves return to  
systems of nationalism which in  
1914, and before, have been  
quite unproductive. I believe this  
is very serious. Nationalism stimulates  
nationalism.

→ I fear - not so much a return  
to isolationist - but that we might  
withdraw from complexities of  
NATO situation that we might  
go back to a "polarist" situation.

When you舍掉 independence, flexibility  
and nationalism. You risk going  
back to pre-1914 "mish mash".

→ we can very easily go adrift here

if we don't have high degree  
of statesmanship & resist  
replying to nationalism.

► another problem is with  
peoples of these countries. U.S.  
people are confused. In France  
the people misunderstand  
& seem to believe De Gaulle is  
right about "U.S. ordering our  
boys around".

De Gaulle says - no longer  
very nervous (that's effect). I  
question that.

But remember, problems are  
not only military.

Problem is not so much military threat as emerging east-west relationship. De Gaulle has had initiative. may revive still-alive European nationalism.

While in short-run re-enforces Germany's interest in NATO, may eventually cause Germany's nationalism.

► Urgent need for U.S. and NATO to formulate a new east-west relationship (because of Soviet internal changes, changes in East Europe, Sino-Soviet split.)

► Must take initiative for with East.

will not be sufficient just to try to preserve institutions

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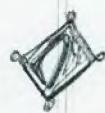
Austria

NATO's continued strength a great concern for those who are not members.

Soviet military strength can be discounted for the time being (problems of Soviet previously mentioned) maybe this would have happened anyway - but with strong NATO these things may not happen & definitely not so soon - Because of this infiltration and subversion had to be abandoned. failure of Berlin takeover worsened Sino-Soviet relations because it forced Soviet back on no-existence.

U.S. should realize its strength last with self-control.

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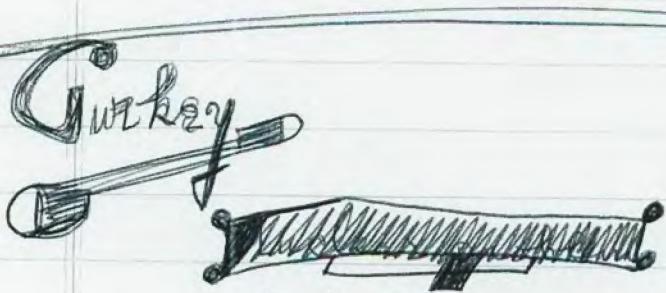


George Ball

NATO purposes

1. Defense
2. Deterrence
3. Settlement of European problem  
(unification of Germany)

→ Combined, unified Command of  
military - ready to go, essential



- Don't fragmentize or regionalize
- don't add other outside  
matters or try to direct a  
concerted foreign policy.

France (opposition)

still remains in alliance  
but outside organization -

This is difficult to do

do not see advantages

① my government's position  
② France now practically  
isolated by proper action of 14  
nations

Radar detection - will we lose?

Loss of French commander

NATO - What about Germany  
(French troops there?)

De Gaulle's reasons

1. Psychological

France would do better  
not linked or subordinated  
to U.S. command when  
military conflict in Asia  
may expand and those involved  
French in war in Far East.

(I don't think this risk exists  
because NATO part has no  
competence here)

2. Détente with Soviet Union

will be more active when Atlantic  
Union becomes weaker

~~for a period  
under my  
control~~

(my reply - detente was result of western union. NATO was the shield which put an end to Soviet subversion. People begining to co-exist are product of atlantic cohesion. NATO can be source of dialogue for more flexible relations with east)

### 3. Contradiction between sovereignty of state and integration of military force

De Gaulle has emphasized with to French people for building separate nuclear force that R.S. come into WWI in 1917 and WWII in 1941

We must point out to public ~~to~~ opinion that this need for autonomy is what NATO can answer

Period of nationalism is a dangerous game. No fear now, I trust, but eventually Germany may become nationalistic also, and irritate France's desire for a free hand, also.

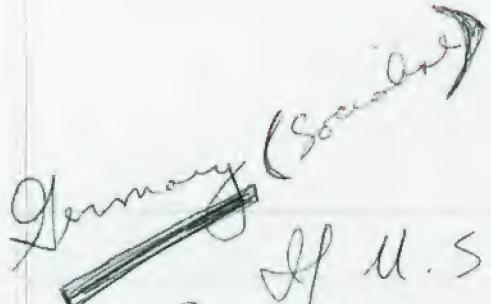
*French  
opposed  
to Central  
Front*

U.S. should please think  
in future of strengthening common  
management.

I hope Europe will have  
greater share in management  
and military responsibilities  
of the alliance.

Nuclear weapons at least  
of present trouble — we  
mustn't just say we're  
against proliferation — but  
must give Europe more  
power.

NATO should be continued and  
I hope France will one  
day take up its place  
in it.



If U.S. came late in  
2 wars - why not  
keep them here?



also, I'm afraid  
French nationalism may lead to  
greater nationalism on the part  
of Germany.



Integration - means preparation  
in peace time for common defense.  
Also, common strategy in nuclear  
field. This is necessary to  
maintain credibility & deterrent.  
More difficult and expensive, but  
necessary, without France.



Wider scope for ~~NATO~~ not just  
military integration.

We cannot isolate a  
treaty or organization to one area  
of the world.



Frashed

1. deterrence no longer is  
military on ground but  
U.S. nuclear power.

but NATO has other purposes and  
usefulness.

~~Bowie~~Suggestions for action

1. Use of smaller groups  
on a functional or  
regional basis

2. Nuclear sharing

→ Munich Committee

→ Collective Atlantic force

→ European force

3. East-West Policy

(trade, credit, arms  
control, diplomatic activity  
and German unity.)

- policy making body on a  
continuous basis

I would add (for discussion)

A. Responsibility in other parts  
of the world

→ developing nation

→ containment of  
Chinese aggression

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~~Netherlands~~

→ France is engaged in  
"diplomacy by statements."

→ There will be repercussions in the  
common market.

→ There should not be bilateral  
dealing with France outside  
NATO. Council should be kept in  
Paris. Military might  
will have to be moved. Should  
not be moved to U.S. Nor to U.K.  
(latter gave impression that in  
conflict Mainland might have to  
abandon) (not to U.S.  
because takes European  
defense outside Europe)

→ Must give attention to  
nuclear attraction, especially  
by U.S. and U.K.

→ Difficult to see advantages to  
France of their policy which  
will tend to produce post-1914  
conditions.

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France (Opposition)

our diplomacy is dominated  
by one man. I see nothing  
wrong with some bilateral  
conversations.



Giscard (U.S.)

Nuclear sharing - non-proliferation

■ no hurry because U.S. & Soviet  
can join on bi-lateral pressure and  
therefore we shouldn't wait on  
this problem's solution to get at  
NATO problems.





Holfield

nuclear sharing



What is desired by Germany  
if not complete sovereign  
control



Germany is not represented  
at SAC headquarters.  
Special Committee of  
McNamara is only an  
exploratory committee

~~If~~ This is not enough  
to reassure a European  
non-nuclear nation.



~~Germany~~

→ We have never asked for control  
over nuclear weapons. We  
want to participate in  
largely nuclear planning -  
our say in the decision making  
process.

→ We doubt the McNamara committee  
can give us sufficient weight.

Schlesinger  
Schlesinger (Socialist)

Reunification of Germany would be such a major change in world politics, I am convinced it cannot come about except with major political, nuclear & military changes toward nuclear disarmament.

But need more sharing of control on this continents more cooperation.





Nuclear proliferation

— NATO can have new  
meaning by helping to solve this.

~~U.S.~~ Nuclear control

~~Some~~ Most Europeans want to have  
more than information as peace.  
They want to be in on  
things as a matter of right.

If U.S. (France) get  
special standing in NATO  
because they have nuclear  
weapons → then other nations  
sooner or later will demand  
such weapons



In answer to Holifield  
Italy (See several notes)  
What about a European  
nuclear force with U.S. veto?  
Couldn't U.S. come up with  
such a suggestion & pass  
it through their Congress.

## Canada

We do not wish nor intend  
to produce nuclear weapons,  
though we have the power to do  
so — This should not stand  
in the way of expanding peaceful  
use of nuclear power.

- ① → we reaffirm our support of  
NATO which still has 15 members.
- ② Let's keep alliance together  
③ strengthen & make it  
more effective — we need  
more political consultation  
to promote political unity,  
(we must remember it was not to  
be a world-wide political  
instrument) linked to geographic  
concept. (Speaking Pearson's position)

Rentner  
There is here  
overemphasis on mechanics.

NATO is in trouble because  
common fears are reduced.  
Success

- WE need a new sense
- ▷ historic purpose
  - What's unfinished job
  - ▷ Atlantic Community?
    - building community
    - ▷ peace.

► nationalism is dangerous

Harris

Countries act  
generally on their

Much has been said ~~ourself~~ <sup>interest</sup>  
about unfortunate  
isolation of U.S.

must be kept  
to defense & deterrence

unified  
military  
machinery

dialogue ~~opposition~~

I hope I  
will not  
spend  
but I'm not  
balking about  
balcony more  
involved in  
preventing wars

more  
conflicting  
interests  
especially  
those matters  
we should talk about

1. greater detente  
with Soviet Union  
↳ Eastern Europe.  
(can do this multilaterally)  
↳ political dialogue & policy making
2. Greater involvement  
with the developing world

we are rich; we are  
strong  
so let's world obligation

We should not be bound by what  
we are against alone.

1. greater detente with Russia  
& the eastern world
2. prevention of causes of war in the  
third world

All countries, including  
France, will see ~~the~~  
Atlantic alliance at once again  
serving their most vital interests



de Santo Silva

Comment on statement of Sen. Harris  
on expansion of NATO to matters of  
other parts of the world

Success of NATO has made  
potential enemies more astute  
of other parts of the world. NATO  
members should show more  
understanding of members' problems  
in ~~of~~ other parts of the world. This  
would should NATO solidarity.



Nuclear control

Ful hill (U.S.)



Walter Reuther - "The idealists are the  
pragmatists of our day?"

PLK

agree with Murphy. Gaffen  
Secy-General of NATO - we  
should concentrate on NATO's  
original mission as a  
military alliance.

aid to developing  
countries should not be a  
role of NATO, but of other existing  
agencies.

neither of helping with  
detente is not NATO's role.  
Detente is not helped but  
made more difficult by  
France's action. NATO has already  
been a strong instrument  
of detente.

### Portugal

Involvement in other parts of  
the world and make common  
approach to Eastern Europe and  
Soviet Union. Should not  
overload NATO in other parts of  
the world.

1. Shouldn't get involved in  
Portugal in Angola. NATO has enough  
to do.

2. Shouldn't make new approach  
to East - because it would be unsuccessful  
because it has military image. Countries

## Portugal cont.

should be free to make its own approaches through its best channels.

## A Santo Silva (Portugal)

I don't think NATO should get involved in problems of Angola. What would like is NATO members to have a better understanding and some kind of moral solidarity on these problems which involve western civilization.

## Canadian

### Nuclear power

Couldn't this be studied by NATO Councils now France has made it impossible to make much headway here - But, now, couldn't the remaining 11 make some progress.



Ambassador McGhee

1. Greatest threat to future of NATO lies in distrust or fear of Federal Republic of Germany. Germany should be allowed to make its case.

De Gaulle's action increases Germany's role. we mustn't make Germany a second class member of the alliance.

2. Scope of NATO - Gen. Harris said Europe must guard against isolation. U.S. is now involved. Soviets and Communist Chinese are global. ~~Europe~~ we are the only ones taking full world view. Europeans could help along side us. If nations of Europeans individually and their collective agency doesn't take part, a great gap is created in western defense.

What about peace-keeping effort under aegis of NATO? Why not?

Congo ~~Holifield~~ nuclear

Special McNamara Committee has possibilities for solving the problem. Support and encouragement of 14 members will largely determine development.

NATO was in disarray for several years before DeGaulle. He had not perfected its procedures. Let us agree upon its defense and war plans. If we can't do this in times of peace - there is small chance for NATO to be an effective shield in times of war. If we can't do this, there is little reason to pour into it our most precious ~~secret~~ weapons.

Netherlands

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quite whole the U.S. has been free of the "Big Power Complex" but in this instance, they seem to exhibit it. We must have a greater spirit of equality and sharing among all NATO members.



## Holifield Nuclear

By change of law and otherwise, were given much (classified) classified information and technical knowledge to NATO allies —

— all except info necessary or useful to construction of nuclear weapons or submarine. This is not antagonistic, but against proliferation and counter espionage and the risks involved in U.S. as well as in NATO member countries.

Morse amendment of McMahon is highly unlikely and any proposed nuclear sharing must come within framework of present law.

U.K. - NATO's role in keeping peace in world is attractive, but not very practical.

→ we don't have the ships and hardware to do so — even if it were politically advisable to do so.

→ I think there is resistance in developing world to NATO as policeman (such as in Cyprus)

I believe this is role of U.N. And its decisive voice more than De Gaulle's action.

H. R.

Europe's world should not be as a blood donor in the developing world.

McNamee

Europe has forces. U.S. has transport.

I don't see how a group of people in the world with science and other potential power can refuse to play a world role — and NATO Council can serve as forum.

Holifield

I disagree with Cong. Morse (Repub) as Chm. of Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and member of the Majority Party.

We've modified McMahon Act on a number of occasions — 3 times in regard to NATO. I wouldn't want to leave impression that Congress would not look on McMahon Act as dead letter, but as living, breathing thing.

## France opportunity

Quotes Lippman for practically opposing De Gaulle's position because ~~talon~~ equilibrium of power is established by U.S.

France is to get most advantages geography ~~not~~ allows it.



~~Second~~ also

Soviet Union believes France's independence is a bad example for the countries of Eastern Europe.

## Johnson (U.S.)

I think McGhee's position is not as good as Bruchaus' <sup>(U.K.)</sup> about U.N.'s role —

but one of problem in U.N. is that every one has a block except Atlantic community — This lack of unity in U.N. among us is striking. We do not concert our policies in U.N. ~~as much~~ nearly as much as we can and we should. We ought to do a better job than we ever.

McGee

U.N. has done excellent work in peace-keeping, though there's been some disillusionment - But it's asymptotic that it can't function in ~~and need~~ war situation.

U.S. won't forever do it alone.

Prince Bernhard

Consensus NATO should be maintained as an alliance and as an organization.

agreed

Soviet posture has changed since creation. over aggression is not expected. But if NATO disappears there would be a very dangerous situation, although new Soviet expansionist policy military integration should be continued.

General and strong desire to avoid further alienation of France and keep door open - But to strengthen & maintain NATO in spite of French action

H/RH cont.

not solved

Showed we ~~do~~ use present situation to adopt and adjust and leave more fundamental changes to a later period.

The effort to keep going is already a hard enough goal without adding more problems.

not solved questions:

1. Stronger policies and integration - for some nations even though all don't ~~do~~ want to.  
large opinion that NATO is essentially a security pact.  
large opinion that smaller zones should be avoided.

2. Nuclear sharing  
enormous discrepancies in strength between U.S. and Europe. Strong desire of Europe for stronger voice in all decisions involving nuclear power. Disappointed no more concrete proposals to Con. Holifield's question as to how this may be done.

3. no answer whether joint security or stronger effort the common posture vis-a-vis the outside world.

Sir Andrew

Widening gap between developing & developed nations is dangerous not only because it threatens the stability of the world, but also because it is an affront to our consciences.

Needs (between donors)

1. Arrangements for effectiveness (World Bank & ~~other~~ other international organizations) Proper domestic policies more important than amounts. (Otherwise disappointment & frustration ~~occurs~~ occurs for recipients, but more importantly for donors, which are liable to result in reductio.) We must not be woolly-headed about this for fear of neo-colonialism. We don't have the right not to do this.) International organizations can improve conditions easier, but majority of aid will continue to be bilateral for the foreseeable future.

2. Donors must work together

much more closely with coherent plans for working out priorities U.S. has anti-scatterization policy but we need this on cooperative basis among us all.



⑩ OECD Development assistant Committee must be made more I than we have to date. This is the means by which the Atlantic Community could do more together in aid.

⑪ More attention to technical assistance, training, transfer of no-how. Bound to be effective and successful. U.N. ~~etc~~ has given absolute priority here and were expanding. (Its advantages, of course, I being chiefest)

⑫ Concentrate on points of breakthrough in science & technology desalination, pest control above all: population control. latter is an important form I aid.

⑬ Support International aid Programs. (will by 1970 have gone from 14% to 18% of the gross aid total)

International Development Association funds must be replenish shortly - U.N. <sup>(development)</sup> ~~etc~~ program must be supported  
World Bank must continue to be in a leadership program.

my questions

What percentage of  
GDP or other measure  
are 15 NATO members  
devoting to aid.

What about China and  
Soviet Union? Japan?

White (CAT)

EEC is not coming  
to grips with  
their responsibility  
~~or~~ with impending failure  
in Kennedy round.

aid is not matter of philanthropy.  
It ought to be considered as a  
matter of national interest, an  
integral part of national policy.



developing

Greater cohesion is building  
on article 2 or some other  
solution - or else  
"commn bld will continue  
to sprung leaks & perhaps be  
hopelessly wrecked"

- paraphrasing Lincoln - "the world  
cannot long endure half rich  
and half poor, particularly  
if the rich are getting richer  
and the poor are getting poorer."

Property

## Federal Republican

1. Integration essential

► reform of NATO necessary

A. European unification

B. European voice increase even before unity

C. Reform for more feasible joint action

D. Change in military & nuclear control

(we accept non-proliferation)

but we want participation in every decision-making stage

► collective system  
- U.S. veto  
- European veto

► more participation in crisis management - disarmament agreement

Better monetary system

Better coordination of aid to underdeveloped world.